Why It's Wise To Keep Hands Off Chile, P. 3

Hans Christian Agnew Takes To The Stump

There is a new deadlock of democracy today between a progressive President, carrying out his mandate for reform, and a reactionary Congress in the grip of bitter men who forfeited that mandate.

—Vice President Agnew, opening the GOP's political campaign in a speech at Springfield, Ill. Sept. 10.

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The Only Way To End Terrorism

As a young newspaperman during the world depression I never felt the despair I am beginning to feel now about the future of our country. When I try to analyze the difference I think one reason is that then even the revolutionaries had rational goals, not just a blind frustrated urge to destroy. And, of course, the election of 1932 soon provided a fresh, electric and responsive leadership. It was as if in 1968 McCarthy or Bobby Kennedy had won the election and transformed despair into hope overnight.

Today there is a loss of confidence that extends into every sector of society, even those which usually find it reassuring to have a Republican President. The feeble little stock boomlet that Nixon and the Federal Reserve are trying to pump up for November, at the expense of letting up on the fight against inflation, barely covers over a precarious business situation. The banks are carrying on their books many businesses which are overripe for the bankruptcy courts, lest a general collapse engulf the banks with them. The social landscape does not encourage long-range investment. Black and Chicano minorities are in revolt, and an urban guerrilla movement confronts us in the cities and on the campuses. Another Kent State could set off a tidal wave of violence on the nation's campuses. The police have become a target for snipers, as have firemen. Guns are ready everywhere. A tiny minority of firebrand youngsters is making good on its threat to "bring the war home."

Easy to Destroy, Hard to Rebuild

It begins to look as if it may be easy to break down the fabric of American society. To rebuild it will be very hard. Anarchy and barbarity, race war and gang rule, not utopia, lie at the end of the road on which our instant revolutionaries would put us. The power of the guerrillas is that they can start a widening chain reaction it is almost impossible to prevent. The inescapable counter-measures necessitated by a rash of bombings threatens to precipitate wider clashes in the ghettoes and on the campuses, mobilizing whole communities in war with the police and the National Guard. One looks on, helpless to avoid the collision one sees coming.

The panic, hysteria, and hate which may soon be set loose can hardly provide the crucible in which to create that New Man of whom Mao and Che dreamed. The reforms society needs all require—no matter under what "system"—an increase in every man's concern for his fellows, a greater readiness to understand, to forgive and to share. Without these qualities, communism has already failed. You cannot beat men into angels, nor make them better by calling them "pigs." But how do you preach to youth the sanctity of human life when established society, in its institutionalized violence and exploitation, treats it so lightly? How often have we heard it said here in Washington, in cold-blooded defense of bombing North Vietnam that "hurting them" would force them to make peace? Now our country is hurting.

There is no moral arithmetic to cancel out the crime of murder. But how do you answer those who say coolly of the young man who died in that Army Mathematics building at Wisconsin, "What if he had been drafted and died in Vietnam?" How do you restore the moral bearings of the young when we now learn from the private papers in the John F. Kennedy library that he and former Senator Smathers of Florida on many occasions discussed the feasibility of arranging the assassination of Fidel Castro? The craziest of our mixed-up kids are no crazier than the end-justifies-the-means morality of American imperialism.

Human society, as it grows more complex, grows more vulnerable. Hi-jackings, bombings, snipers, and political kidnappings; fedayeen, Tupamaros, and Weathermen, all reflect the power this gives a desperate few. But technology is not the essence of their power. At its inner core is a sustaining moral indignation which gives these few the strength to live and die as outlaws. They will not be stopped until this inner sense of righteousness is undermined, and this can be done only by

(Continued On Page Two)

Radicalism—Or Posturing For The TV Cameras?

The American radical all too frequently wears one set of blinders that enables him to see only the disappointments and ugliness of our society while another set of blinders enables him to see only the virtues of the Utopian alternatives he reads about in radical literature. What I personally resent most about some American radicals is their willingness to jeopardize the chances of constructive change by such antics as displaying Vietcong flags, disrupting courtrooms, shouting obscenities and other obnoxious patterns of conduct. Instead of building a broader base on the nearly universal hunger of man for peace, they seem determined to isolate the peace movement from any kind of effective relationship with other human beings. This kind of reckless political action may be enjoyable for affluent youth cut off from the real world but it is a grave injustice to those who seek an end to the war and misery.

—Senator McGovern in a letter to Congressional interns (Con. Rec. Sept. 1, p. S14815) taking Tom Hayden to task for reported remarks at the National Student Association (Wash. Star, *Aug. 19) glorifying the kidnapping and murder of a California judge. We have been unable to reach Hayden and verify the accuracy of the remarks attributed to him.*

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society's willingness to take a fresh look at the morality of its own behavior, and to begin to right the wrongs which provoke the resistance. Isaiah says, "Zion shall be redeemed by justice." Rereading that sublime poetry on vacation last August, I felt that the prophet here offered us the cryptic key to the problem of terrorism everywhere, in the Middle East as at home.

Society's Double Standard

Society's moral weakness is its double standard. The sufferings of the hi-jacked in the desert aroused world-wide sympathy and their release world-wide relief. But how many stopped to think that several hundred thousand of the Arab refugees from Palestine have been living for two decades in a similar stinking horror in desert camps, stifling by day, freezing by night, on a beggar's pittance? The papers are full of proposals to deal with the hi-jackers but little about the need to deal with the grievances behind them. The editorial outburst about Arab "barbarism" hardly accords with the testimony of all the hi-jacked travellers—including the Israeli—that the commandos treated them kindly. Such exaggeration is not the path to peace. I covered the Jewish terror against the British in Palestine in the postwar 40s. I know that if the present situation were reversed, and Jews were in the refugee camps, and no one cared, Jewish commandos would be hi-jacking planes to call attention to their plight, and those of us who are Jews would feel the same thrill over these exploits as the Arabs do over theirs. What surer way to reconciliation than honestly to recognize ourselves in the visage of our enemy?

The permanent answer to the Arab hi-jackings was indicated courageously by the *Washington Post* in an editorial Sept. 13, "A Palestinian State Now." The way to deprive the fedayeen of their motive force is to deal with the grievance which fuels it. The way to deal with those who have nothing to lose is to give them something to lose. To erect a Palestinian Arab state alongside the Jewish state would be to redeem Zion by justice.

Men are moral beings, and to take from the terrorists their moral justification is the only way to strike at the heart of the terror spreading around the globe. A society operates by habit and consent, and if these begin to break down, it is helpless. Police are effective only if they confront occasional and peripheral disorder. If even a sizeable minority declines to obey the rules, the task of law and order becomes insuperable. This is especially true when the authorities confront dedicated, scattered terrorists so loosely organized that they are hard to infiltrate and cannot be crushed by striking at their head, for they have no centralized direction. They are like the Hydra of fable, which grew two new heads for each one Hercules cut off.

The "Fear Of Humiliation" In Indochina

Courage is a personal quality, not one belonging to nations apart from their individual citizens. It takes no individual courage for a President to send young men to risk their lives in a jungle 10,000 miles from home. It takes great moral courage, on the other hand, for Senator McGovern to acknowledge a mistake and to take an initiative to end the war in Indochina, just as it took physical courage when he flew 36 combat missions as a B-26 bomber pilot in World War II, for which he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross. It diverts us from the real question when the President invokes the specter of 'This first defeat in American history.' We are not really in danger of being militarily defeated in Indochina. Within hours we could wipe those little countries off the face of the map. It is not weakness that prevents us, but decency and civilized restraint. A war is fought for political objectives, and when it is recognized that those objectives are unattainable at a reasonable cost, the appropriate course of action [is] to end that war. Correcting a mistake is a rational and honorable way of coming to grips with reality.

—Sen. Fulbright in a TV interview, NBC August 31 (abr.).

If By Some Miracle

If by some miracle, we could acquire new leadership in the White House, if that leadership recognized the evils of our society and mobilized to deal with them, we could not only separate the mass of the youth, the blacks, the Chicanoes and the other discontented from the desperadoes but deprive the desperadoes themselves of the self-righteousness that sustains them. I imagine an America with a new Roosevelt, with a President who said—and made us feel he meant it—"We are embarking on a 10-year crusade to wipe out racism, illiteracy, pollution, urban blight and war. To do so we are withdrawing from Vietnam and cutting our military down to bare-bones size. Come and help us build a new and shining America." Think of what we could do with the zeal that now moves some of our best youth to destruction. *Sept. 14*

Open Letter (Unheeded) Warns Laird Against Using The Lethal M-16 In Civil Disturbances

Dear Mr. Secretary: I have just learned that, without public announcement, the Department of the Army has decided to supply National Guard units with 228,000 M-16 combat rifles by April, 1971. Since the primary use of the National Guard over the past quarter of a century has been to control crowds and quell domestic civil disturbances, the decision to place a lethal weapon of war in their hands seems to be unwise, imprudent and improper.

The M-16 fires at the phenomenal rate of 850 shots per minute and instantly can spray a large area with deadly firepower.

It is not the type of weapon the National Guard needs. In 1967 testimony before a special subcommittee of the House Committee on Armed Services, a commanding general of the California National Guard and the adjutant general of the Wisconsin National Guard spoke out against the use of infantry type rifles during civil disorders. Commanding General Ott of California told the subcommittee: "We need some kind of a low velocity weapon. I hate to see a man shooting at a sniper upon the roof with the knowledge that the bullet may land three blocks away and injure or kill some innocent person." And the U.S. Riot Commission Report concluded after the tragic summer of 1967 that much of the Guard's "equipment is inappropriate for dealing with civil disorders."

Effective crowd control demands disciplined troops, well versed in civil disorder tactics, with weapons specifically designed for bringing riots under control with a minimum of permanent injuries, particularly to innocent bystanders. This does not call for the use of automatic combat rifles. Instead, non-lethal bullets and the like should be used. In circumstances in which civil or military authorities are menaced by snipers, specially riot-trained counter-sniper teams should be used. Such teams would be trained to pick targets with care. This would enhance public appreciation of the vital role the National Guard must play in quelling civil disorders. I hope that you will personally review and reverse the decision made by the Army to equip the National Guard with M-16 combat rifles.

—Rep. Paul Findley (R. Ill.) to Sec. Laird, Aug. 31.

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Why Washington Would Be Wise To Be Patient With Chile's Allende

It is fortunate for us and for Chile that the Republicans are in power here. If the Democrats were in the White House, the Republicans would be attacking them for standing idly by while "a new Castro" takes over in the hemisphere. Humphrey would never have dared the low key, low posture stance Nixon has so far been following, as he did over Peru. The Chilean election marks another step in the liquidation of U.S. investments in Latin America, but it will be cheaper to let U.S. copper and steel companies in Chile take their nationalization as a tax loss than to set out on the path of an intervention which could convert South America into a giant Vietnam.

Not Chile's First Popular Front

Chile has been moving left for a long time. For 101 turbulent days during the depth of the world depression in 1932 Chile was declared a Socialist Republic. In 1938, after native Nazis attempted to seize power, Chile elected the first Popular Front regime in the hemisphere, an anti-Fascist coalition of the Radical, Democratic, Socialist and Communist parties. A new Popular Front in 1958 came within 35,000 votes of electing Dr. Allende President in a 3-way race. In 1964 the right and the U.S. supported Frei and gave Chile its first Christian Democratic regime in fear of a Popular Front victory. But while the oligarchy gave Frei the votes for a majority, it blocked the "revolution in liberty" he had promised. The result was to push the Christian Democratic movement left. A split-off joined the Popular Front.

The traditional order in Chile, as in most of Latin America, rested on the trinity of the priest, the Army officer and the landowner. This has broken down. While the armed forces have become socially adventurous, the Church has moved left. The Christian Democratic candidate, Tomic, ran on a platform almost as radical as Allende's; both called for complete nationalization of the U.S.-owned copper companies. Allende promises recognition of Cuba, and an end of the economic blockade, but Frei had already been doing a sizeable business with Cuba in foodstuffs.

This convergence of the two movements makes any deal to deny Allende the Presidency unlikely. Normally it would seem hazardous to launch so fundamental a change as Allende promises on a mandate which represents a 36% plurality, only fractionally larger than the 34% given the conservative candidate. But a sizeable portion of the "other third," the Christian Democrats, is as radical as the Popular Front. It needs only 21 of the 75 Christian Democratic votes in Congress for Allende's election. The London *Times* reports from Santiago (Sept. 11) that there are about 20 Christian Democrats "who would support Dr. Allende under any circumstances." Since the election Dr. Allende has repeated his assurances of freedom of expression, multi-party politics, and adherence to the constitution. Dr. Allende, an aristocrat and a socialist, is temperamentally and philosophically neither a Castro nor a Lenin.

Chile is already highly socialized. Its main exports, copper and iron, are in too short supply to be boycotted as we boycott Cuban sugar. In charting a take-over of the big landed estates, the monopolies and the banks, while leaving middle and small business in private hands, Dr. Allende seeks agrarian reform and social planning for full employment. His most dangerous enemies may be on the left. He must hold down wages to curb galloping inflation and curb the violence of Chile's own "instant revolutionaries." He must achieve results fast enough to win mass support for austerity. If he fails, the result may be a collapse into civil disorder which could easily spread elsewhere in South America and make it more difficult for the U.S. to keep hands off. That's why Nixon would be wise to be patient with Allende.

McGovern: "This Chamber Reeks Of Blood"

All my life, I have heard Republicans and conservative Democrats complaining about the growth of centralized power in the Federal executive. Vietnam and Cambodia have convinced me that the conservatives were right. Do they really believe their own rhetoric? We have permitted the war power which the authors of the Constitution wisely gave to us as the people's representatives to slip out of our hands until it now resides behind closed doors at the State Department, the CIA, the Pentagon, and the basement of the White House.

Every Senator in this Chamber is partly responsible for sending 50,000 young Americans to an early grave. This Chamber reeks of blood. Every Senator here is partly responsible for that human wreckage at Walter Reed and Bethesda Naval and all across our land—young men without legs, or arms, or genitals, or faces, or hopes. There are not very many of these blasted and broken boys who think this war is a glorious venture. . . . And if we do not end this damnable war, those young men will some day curse us for our pitiful willingness to let the Executive carry the burden that the Constitution places on us.

—McGovern on the End-the-War Amendment Sept. 1.

Gore Warns: Behind Power Shortages and Soaring Fuel Prices Is A New Energy Cartel

Coal stocks at many of TVA's generating plants, as well as plants of many utilities around the country, stand at dangerously low levels. A national crisis in energy impends. This sorry situation has been in the making for several years, even though it has become apparent with disconcerting suddenness.

Coal production is more than 10 million tons short of probable consumption this year. We must depend on oil, gas, coal and nuclear energy to meet increased electricity demand. The frightening thing is that we now have a quasi-monopoly in these fuels.

Already the squeeze on the consumer is tight. Coal prices are being raised at the rate of 56% per year; fuel oil is up about 48%. The additional cost to the consumer amounts to a billion dollars a year through higher electric bills. An overriding reason for coal shortages and increased prices lies in the concentration of ownership of coal supplies in a few giant corporations which also own oil and gas operations. Beginning in 1965 the independent coal companies began to disappear. Many of the largest were being bought up by oil companies. I warned about this in 1966.

The only remaining hope for competition rests with nuclear fuels. And whose tracks do we find in the nuclear field? Oil companies now control 45% of known uranium reserves. Oil companies control uranium milling. Oil companies own four out of five plants for reprocessing used nuclear fuel elements. About the only operation in the nuclear field not already dominated by oil companies is the enrichment process which the Federal government controls. President Nixon, true to form, has been busying himself to find a way to "sell" these enrichment plants at Oak Ridge, Paducah and Portsmouth.

—Gore in the Senate Sept. 1. These same interests are pouring money into Tennessee to defeat him. No one needs or deserves help more in the coming election than this courageous Populist Senator from Tennessee.

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Golda Meir's Visit To Nixon As Seen By An Israeli "Peacenik"

By Nathan Yalin-Mor

Tel Aviv, Sept. 8

So the talks under Jarring are not going to start soon. Israel's government decided that "as long as the cease fire and standstill agreement are not fully implemented, and the previous situation restored, Israel will not be able to participate in the (Jarring) talks".

It is no secret here that this decision was forced upon the majority by Defence Minister Dayan under a threat to quit the Cabinet. After the walk-out of the Gahal bloc, this would create a precarious situation for the traditional Labour Party leadership. It could lead to a new general election, in a different party setup, with uncertain outcome.

Another Eyeball-To-Eyeball?

Moshe Dayan is reputed to be pragmatic and very realistic. Does he really believe that the United States is able to compel the Soviets to withdraw their SAM-2 and SAM-3 installations from the restricted Canal zone, as in the case of Cuba? Doesn't he understand that a course like that would run counter to the American aim to solve the Middle East crisis by cooperation with the USSR rather than by confrontation? What, then, is his real intention?

In a televised interview Dayan introduced a significant formula: "Either to withdraw the missiles to their previous place, or to discuss and talk about everything anew, as if the former (cease-fire) agreement didn't exist." Speculations about the meaning of this formula vary. One thing is clear: Dayan would like to cancel Israel's signature on the Rogers affidavit transmitted to Jarring. He was not happy that Israel was obliged to start negotiations when the Arab states enjoy the unconditional support of one of the two superpowers while the other tries hard to make its policy appear even-handed. He would like the Nixon Administration to commit itself strongly to support Israel in some of its demands—if not to keep *all* the territories, at least those specified (on his insistence) in the "unwritten doctrine" of the Labour Party's last election platform: Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip and Sharm esh-Sheikh.

American consent to this program might come, in Dayan's speculation, as a result of a bilateral US-Israel agreement which could be tantamount to a binding military alliance, even if not "a treaty consented to by the Senate", as proposed by Senator Fulbright. This would mean a considerable arms supply, mainly jet planes, but first and foremost an increased, almost unlimited, bargaining power. It seems that this will be the main theme of Mrs. Meir's talk with President Nixon, to be held within a few days. The big question is: What if America will not agree to lose all the advantages, real or illusory, of the even-handed policy pursued during the last few months? Are we to return to the situation before the Rogers initiative? Is America going to deliver Israel all the arms needed for a long confrontation in face of growing Soviet involvement, with all the global repercussions?

Dayan's New Openings For Diplomacy

There were surprises of content and tone in Moshe Dayan's talk on the Israeli radio Sept. 5 which offer openings and face-savers in the stalled peace talks. The biggest was to hear Dayan, who had hitherto warned Israel to prepare for a long war, say that he thought the conflict was coming to an end and that negotiations would lead to an accord because Israel, Egypt, Russia and America, despite their divergent positions, all wanted a settlement. The second surprise was that Dayan, who had hitherto warned against the dangers of Soviet intervention, now said "One should not exaggerate the degree of active Soviet participation in combat." He said the Soviets had put a limit on their role and were keeping within it. Dayan suggested that if the missiles moved in violation of the cease-fire could not be removed, then discussions ought to go forward as if the new cease-fire did not exist. This would force Nasser either to give up his "war of attrition" and reinstate the old cease-fire, or leave Israel free to retaliate if Cairo broke the cease-fire again. Another idea put forward is for a demilitarized zone on both sides of the Canal. This would seem to be the best solution. At the same time Dayan warned Cairo that the Israeli forces on the Canal were far better entrenched than six months ago, and that any attempt at an attack across the canal would be disastrous for the U.A.R. Dayan's talk seems to offer ways out of the impasse for both Washington and Moscow. The former, by its sloppy handling of the cease-fire accord, has badly hurt its credibility in Israel while the Russians appear to be both incredibly stupid and (as in the Cuban missile crisis) guilty of falsehood in the missile violations. This casts over arms negotiations and future cooperation between the two superpowers a shadow of the utmost gravity.

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